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ABSTRACT

Contents of this issue of the NCRIEEO Newsletter include the following articles: (1) "Editor's commentary: background to the issue," by Edmund Gordon, which puts busing into perspective as an important educational resource--like physical facilities, instructional materials, and teachers--to be used to achieve educational and social purposes; (2) "Busing: who's being taken for a ride?" by Nicolaus Mills, reprinted from "Commonweal," March 21, 1972; (3) "Forward or Reverse? Busing in perspective," by Walter F. Mondale, reprinted from "The New Republic," March 4, 1972; (4) "Busing: who didn't want their children along for the ride?" by Judith Bogard, with bibliographic assistance by Karen Thomas; (5) "New York State Board of Regents: statement and dissent," excerpts of a policy statement on school integration adopted on March 24, 1972 by the Board of Regents, and of the three dissenting opinions by Theodore Black, Joseph King and Helen Power; and, (6) Busing: from many angles, a selected bibliography," selected from Dorothy Christiansen: "Busing," third edition, Center for Urban Education, 1971. (JM)

ED 064441

SPECIAL ISSUE BUSING

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Background To The Issue Edmund W. Gordon

Busing: Who's Being Taken For A Ride Nicolaus Mills

Forward or Reverse, Busing In Perspective Walter F. Mondale

Busing: Who Didn't Want Their Children Along For The Ride Judith Bograd

New York State Board of Regents: Statement and Dissent (Excerpts)

Busing: *From Many Angles:* A Selected Bibilography

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NCRIEEO NEWSLETTER

VOL 3 #2

May 1972

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The National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity (NCRIEEO), provides access to an enormous body of reusable experience and usable information contained, often buried, in an infinite variety of documents. Included are many documents readily available, having been published in well advertised and celebrated books, journals, and reports. Many others are much less available and of limited circulation even among those who would find them most useful. Still others are furtive, sometimes "underground" documents, unavailable to the general reader or educator and hard to come by for almost all readers. These speeches, private reports, proposals, program descriptions, status reports, and memoranda contain much information which would be of great value to those concerned with "quality" education and with the prognosis for American public education in general – if they were readily available. The analysis and synthesis of such information on desegregation in public education from all sources is abstracted, indexed, summarized, evaluated, and made easily available through the National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity.

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Editor's Commentary: *Background To The Issue*

Questions related to the democratization of access to and progress in the utilization of the educational resources of this country continue to plague us. Many thought that the "separate but equal" doctrine of the early half of this century provided a national policy adequate to the achievement of that end. However, there soon developed awareness of the paradox of contradiction reflected in the juxtaposition of "separate" and "equal" in a society where ethnic caste and social class distinctions are crucial determinants of opportunity as well as of social interaction. The school desegregation decision of 1954 was hailed as the new national policy basis for equalizing educational opportunity. By the mid-sixties it was clear that the enunciation of this policy by the courts provided a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the achievement of this feebly held national goal. It was in the late sixties that the federal government began to provide relatively large sums of money and some leadership directed at the improvement of the quality of education for the poor and discriminated against. In what was welcomed as a double-barrel-attack, the courts accelerated their desegregation directives to lagging and foot-dragging school districts. It was in this period that there appeared to be some effort directed at creating conditions thought to be sufficient to the achievement of equality of opportunity in education, i.e. conditions in which children were not separated by economic or ethnic status and in which the financial resources thought necessary to quality education were made available.

A review of this period reveals that neither of these conditions was achieved. Despite court ordered desegregation, large numbers of children continue to be educated in segregated classes and schools. Despite the spending of an additional two billion dollars annually on the education of the poor, the quality of educational opportunity and achievement has not greatly improved for children coming from low ethnic status and low income families. There are many and complex reasons for these limited gains (see Gordon, Compensatory Education, IRCD Bulletin) in the quality of education and achievement. Factors influencing the slow progress of school desegregation are also varied and complex. Very clear indicators of the central problem with respect to desegregation came in the mid-sixties when a modest effort at imposing the national desegregation policy on the public schools of a major Northern city resulted in a very clear indication that the intent to implement desegregation in the public schools was not a viable plank in the political platforms of either major party. The experience in the aborted effort at desegregating the public schools of that Northern city clearly indicated the negative position on this subject held by large numbers of white citizens. Developments since that time have supported the judgment that action to implement school desegregation–south or north–would be met with resistance even in the presence of strong national leadership and certainly in its absence.

What was not so clearly indicated but could have been anticipated is the growing absence of support for ethnic integration in the schools among blacks and other ethnic minority groups. What appears to be overwhelming support for the elimination of segregation by ethnic groups, does not appear to be matched by equal support for the abolition of separation. With the resurgence of cultural nationalism among the several ethnic minority groups and the growing recognition that segregation in schools is but a reflection of more pervasive discriminatory patterns endemic to the society, desegregation is seen by a vocal minority among blacks and other ethnic groups as weakening their cultural-political base and as diverting attention from the broader political and economic changes which must occur before equal opportunity of any kind becomes viable. In the absence of these changes, they argue, desegregating the schools results in some improvement in the achievement levels of some minority group children, considerable reduction of the role and participation of minority group educators in the delivery of educational services, and further exclusion of the minority group community from participation in decision-making concerning a major community institution. In addition, it is argued, that school desegregation efforts contribute to the impression that the composition of student bodies is important, leading to the disregard of the functions to be served by schooling for the population served and the goodness with which those functions are served. For these reasons they reject, or at least refuse, to support most efforts at ethnic integration in the schools.

It is against this background that the current concern with busing to achieve ethnic balance in public schools must be understood. We are confronted with strong tradition and sentiment against ethnic integration on the part of a large segment of the white population and with a growing disaffection with the concept and its likely results on the part of blacks and other minority groups. It is not surprising then that a neutral phenomenon such as a form of transportation should come to have such importance as has the concern with busing in the present period. We assume that our readers understand that factors such as fear, distrust, ignorance, inequality, injustice, and insufficient commitment to the ideals we profess continue to frustrate and preclude the achievement of humane solutions to the educational, economic, political, and social problems facing our nation. It is to help our readers understand that transportation—like physical facilities, instructional materials, teachers, etc.—is an important educational resource to be used to achieve educational and social purposes, that we have devoted this issue to the question of busing.

Edmund W. Gordon

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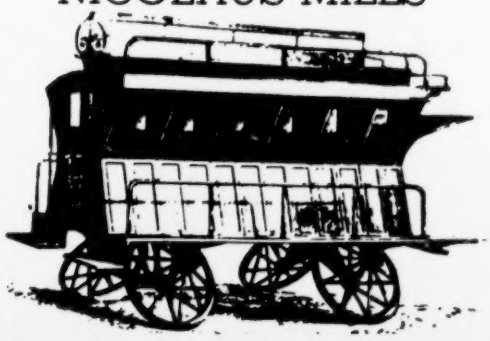
BUSING: WHO'S BEING TAKEN FOR A RIDE?

NICOLAUS MILLS



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I would also like to restate my position as it relates to busing. I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegration cases. I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school children to achieve a racial balance, and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing.

PRESIDENT NIXON, 1971

All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN BURGER, 1971

IN ITS 1953 YEARBOOK, the Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association offered the following description of busing: "The daily trip to and from school is an informal learning situation that reflects the feelings, the desires, the aspirations, the problems, the successes and the failures of pupils. While the morning ride carries the joys, the enthusiasm and sorrows of home, the afternoon ride from school back home brings together the reactions to the school activities of the day. . . . There is no better defined continuity of home and school life than may be observed on the bus as children leave home to ride to school and as these same children leave school in the afternoon to return home." Today this description seems both naive and idyllic, and yet the surprise it causes is in considerable measure due to the fact that the present crisis over school busing has blinded us to the degree to which busing goes beyond the issue of desegration. We have, almost willfully it would seem, neglected to ask ourselves the most basic questions about school busing. What is its history? What is its extent? Who wants it, and who benefits most from it? The answers to these questions will not, of course, make school busing disappear as a political issue, but they do provide a chance for seeing it in perspective.

HISTORY OF BUSING

The history of school bus transportation shows that it is inseparably woven into the social, economic and industrial development of our nation. WILLIAM H. ROE
School Business Management

The current controversy over school busing is surprising to those of us who have devoted our lives to public education. The school bus has been a major factor in improving the educational opportunity of hundreds of millions of American children during the last half century.

DONALD MORRISON
President, National Education Association

Like so many of our current educational problems, busing has a much deeper history than we are accustomed to acknowledging. Its origins not only go back to a time long before desegregation but even before there were buses. In 1869 Massachusetts enacted a law authorizing the spending of public funds to carry

children to and from school. The vehicles employed to do this task were, for the most part, horsedrawn wagons or carriages. Usually, a farmer in the neighborhood was contracted to provide the horses and buggies and paid in proportion to the number of students he hauled. Interestingly enough, horsedrawn pupil transportation lasted well into the 1920's. In 1927-28, approximately 12 percent of the school transportation vehicles used in 32 states were still horse-powered rather than motor-powered.

Seven years after Massachusetts passed its pupil transportation act, Vermont followed suit, and then two other New England states—Maine and New Hampshire—passed pupil transportation laws. By 1900 18 states had some sort of pupil transportation law, and by 1919 pupil transportation at public expense was legal in all 48 states. What were the forces behind this development? In virtually all states they were two: compulsory attendance laws based on the belief that the welfare of the state required all children to receive some education; the consolidation of school centers in rural areas which had formerly relied on inferior one-room schoolhouses. In 31 states school consolidation laws preceded school transportation laws, and in 14 states they were passed simultaneously. What they meant for rural children was that the circumstances of their lives were not allowed to deprive them of the kind of education city children could assume by virtue of where they lived.

In the first two decades of this century, the demand for pupil transportation rose even more, as rural population continued to decline and the school consolidation movement gathered greater acceptance. By the end of Word War I, two other factors were also in operation. The first of these was the development of the automobile. The number of registered motor vehicles tripled between 1919 and 1929 and provided a new means of getting students to school. The second factor was the improvement of roads. During this period the number of surfaced roads almost doubled, with the result that transportation in bad weather became increasingly feasible.

In the last 25 years these same factors have been among the reasons why the demand for pupil transportation has accelerated. Since the end of World War II, the number of school districts in the country has, for example, dropped from over 100,000 to 17,153. In addition, new forces have helped spur the growth of pupil transportation. Cities and suburban areas have shown a willingness to transport children, even though public transportation systems are often available to them, and the states themselves have increasingly asserted leadership in pupil transportation programs. This has meant not only the allocation of more funds for busing, but the assertion of more uniform safety standards, and economy measures in terms of large-scale buying of buses and transportation supplies. It has also meant that the figuring out of school bus routes has started to change from the job of local officials to that of specially trained computer operators.

NICOLAUS MILLS *is a consultant at the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged at Teachers College, Columbia. This article is based on a longer study done for the Center.*

EXTENT OF BUSING

"If the Federal Government is going to reach its long arm into my house and say, 'We are sorry but your children are going to have to be bused 30 miles,' I say the Government has gone too far."

Representative EDITH GREEN

It is sheer distortion to depict busing as the devil's instrument when more than 18 million children daily go to school by bus, not including the millions who use public transportation. But we consider undesirable—as does the Supreme Court—the long-distance busing of young children, in Richmond, Va., as well as in Richmond, New York.

New York Times EDITORIAL, Feb. 25, 1972

The extent of busing, no less than its history, goes against the assumptions which are generally made about it. As *New York Times* education writer Gene Maeroff recently noted, "Busing for desegregation is still only a small part of all school busing. For millions of American children who live too far from any school to walk, the institution known as the neighborhood school is not and never has been a reality."

The most recent surveys put the number of students bused at 42.2 percent of all pupils in the United States. Other statistics are as follows:

Number of children bused to school	19.6 million
Cost of busing (including replacement)	$1.5 billion
Busing costs in states as percentages of total education outlays	0.7 to 6.9 percent
Number of buses	256,000
Number of drivers	275,000
Miles traveled per year	2.2 billion

These figures make school busing the greatest single transportation system in the country. They reflect not only the quality of school busing, however, but also its breadth, the fact that 80 percent of the school dis-

tricts in the country maintain one or more vehicles for pupil transportation, with fleets in the largest districts including more than 500 vehicles and the average fleet at 15 vehicles.

On a national average these figures are very consistent with the tendency in the last decade for the number of pupils bused to rise from .5 to 2.5 percent per year. They are, on the other hand, *less* than the percentage gains recorded over other ten-year periods. The gain from 1959-60, when the number of pupils bused stood at 37.6 percent, to the present is, for example, approximately 5 percent. In 1949-50, on the other hand, the number of pupils transported was 27.7 percent (a change of almost 10 percent), and in 1939-40 the number of pupils transported was 16.3 percent (a change in that decade of more than 11 percent). The figures reaffirm, above all else, the degree to which busing was a normal and accepted part of public education, long before it was thought of as a means of bringing about segregation.

WHO WANTS AND BENEFITS?

In fact, most of it [school busing in New York State] occurs in predominantly white suburban and rural areas where parents pay handsomely, either directly or indirectly, for what they consider the privilege.

FLEISCHMANN COMMISSION ON EDUCATION, NEW YORK

Over a period of years there have been substantial improvements in rural education. Many of them have been in the past 20 years—since the end of World War II. Only a few rural children still attend what traditionally was the "little red schoolhouse." Most now ride school buses to a consolidated school.

ROBERT M. ISENBERG
Associate Executive Secretary,
American Association of
School Administrators

AS THE HISTORY and statistics of busing indicate, the greatest demand for it has come from rural states, where population is scattered and the consolidated school district is typical. There are now many states which transport almost 100 percent of those rural pupils who meeet the distance standards set up by the state as a requirement for transportation, and it is not uncommon to find rural schools in which more than 95 percent of all pupils enrolled come to school in a bus. In states like Maine, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, more than 60 percent of all students are bused to school daily, and in Vermont, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Idaho and Oregon, the percentages are not far behind. When one reads the educational literature put out by such states, it is also apparent that busing is an activity in which great pride is taken. As an essay written by the State Board of Education on "Pupil Transportation in North Carolina" notes, "As long as we accepted a narrow and limited education as satisfactory, the State discharged this responsibility primarily through the establishment of a small school within walking distance of most pupils. But demands on the school for a broadened program increased. . . . These and other factors have resulted in transportation of pupils to and from school becoming one of the most important of the auxiliary activities of the school." Indeed, for those most sensitive to rural education problems, the need for greater busing has only increased of late. As Robert Isenberg noted in testimony before the Select Committee on Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate, "Too many of the school systems in rural America still lack the capability of providing a quality education program. We need an improved delivery system."

It is not uncommon to find rural schools in states like Maine and Kentucky in which 95 percent of the pupils come to school in a bus.

The demand and need for more busing cannot, however, be confined to rural areas. As E. Glenn Featherston and D. P. Culp note in their massive study of *Pupil Transportation,* urban and suburban areas have begun to use busing more heavily than before. Not only has busing become a safety factor in crowded urban areas or suburbs where no sidewalks exist, it has also permitted these areas to develop special schools, designed to serve pupils with common interests rather than merely those who live together. At present some of the largest bus fleets in the country are those operating in and around urban areas.

Indeed, the urban trend towards specialized schools points up the fact that virtually all attempts at unique elementary and high school education now depend on some form of busing. Whether one has in mind an elite private school, like the Chapin School in New York, where most lower-and middle-school children ride the bus, or an educational complex that depends on the pooling of a wide variety of resources, the bus is critical. The parochial schools of this country, which have continually gone to court in order to have their

students transported at public exepnse, provide perhaps the best-known example of the close ties between busing and special education. They have continually argued that their viability depends on pupil transportation, and they have been instrumental in getting state school boards to transport nonpublic school students at public expense. Four states, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin, have Constitutions which authorize such transportation, and a number of other states have statutory provisions for school boards to transport nonpublic school students at public expense.

Busing in urban areas also has been and is being used to deal with the opposite population problem rural areas have—overcrowding. In cities where shifts in population have made it impossible for neighborhood schools to cope with an influx of students, busing to less crowded areas has been adopted. St. Louis provides a classic case of this. There busing was used as an alternative to having double-sessions, which would have set one set of children free in the morning and another set in the afternoon. For those transported, the benefits of the program were obvious, but they were not the only beneficiaries. As a report to the Superintendent of St. Louis schools emphasized "reduction of class size, through bus transportation and other expediencies . . . made it possible for *nontransported as well as transported* children residing in the districts of these seriously overcrowded schools to suffer minimal education loss."

While demographic and geographic forces, coupled with the need for more sophisticated kinds of education, provide the major impetus for school busing, they do not tell the whole story, however. Forty-three states have provision for the transportation of children with handicaps—either emotional or physical. The range of categories extends from those suffering retardation to those who are deaf and blind, and the most common provision is for the distance requirement to be waived with regard to the busing of such children. In any number of states these transportation programs are both expensive and thorough. In Illinois, for example, over 9,000 handicapped children are transported daily to and from their schools under arrangements *other* than regular school bus services. The state pays local districts as much as half the cost, up to the sum of $400 per year per child.

The final result of all this is that the school bus has come to be looked upon as anything but a necessary evil. More and more schools are using it not merely to get students to class but for curriculum trips and extracurricular activities. It is not uncommon to find educators referring to the bus as "an extending arm of the classroom," or to see an increasing number of studies which show bus trips themselves enlarging the student's horizon.

The school bus has become anything but a necesary evil. More and more it is being used for curriculum trips and extracurricular activities.

MYTHS AND REALITIES

The Select Commitee, incidentally, has figures that reveal George Wallace for the demagogue he is on the busing issue. For Mississippi, South Carolina and Mr. Wallace's own Alabama, there has been a decrease of 2 to 3 percent in each state in the total number of students bused since the 1967-68 school year. Before that schools in these states were almost entirely segregated. . . . TOM WICKER

Granting that busing is inconvenient for everyone, do you see busing as a legitimate means to achieve quality education for all?

Yes—23 percent
No—75 percent
No opinion—2 percent

ILLINOIS POLL OF
SENATOR CHARLES PERCY

WITH THESE OBSERVATIONS in mind it becomes possible to turn to the current crisis over school busing and begin to sort out the myths and fictions which have surrounded it. Five of these myths, I think, may be said to stand out from the others and offer a final chance to put the school bus issue in perspective.

1) *Busing goes against tradition and represents a break with past approaches to improving education*: The fact that the first pupil transportation bills were passed in the nineteenth century and that by the conclusion of World War I all the states had passed legislation on pupil transportation provides the clearest refutation of the idea that school busing is somehow untraditional. What is equally important to remember, however, is that school busing has traditionally been regarded as a way of equalizing educational opportunity. It has distinctly gone against the notion that children who live in areas where population factors make it hard to receive a quality education should be forced to "make do." State boards of education have tradi-

tionally argued that consolidation and the need for improved education are at the root of busing.

To quote from the literature of three states, Arkansas, Alabama and Mississippi, normally associated with anti-busing sentiment:

"Arkansas is now, and will long continue to be, predominantly a rural state. The rural children must be educated in standard schools, which, of course, is impossible with a one- and two-teacher school system. Large schools will have to be maintained where teachers who are specialists may be provided. . . . The transportation of children to school at public expense is now generally accepted by constituted educational authorities as a function of the state school system." "Most of our areas in Alabama are rural; therefore, it became necesssary to provide students with transportation to centers where the could receive the best possible education." "The public school districts of Mississippi, with few exceptions, own and operate their bus fleets. . . . The great majority of pupils being transported is due to school consolidation and the rural make-up of this state." There is nothing, it should be emphasized, that is unusual in these statements. One could find such sentiments in the literature of most any state with a high degree of school busing.

2) *Busing is the exception and the neighborhood school is always the most desirable*: With the number of bused school children now 19.6 million and the percentage of bused children at 42.2 percent, it is no longer possible to regard busing as unusual. The same is also true for recent gains in busing. On a national scale they are no greater than gains over the past decade, and less in terms of percentages than gains in other decades. In this regard it is also relevant to note that in areas protesting most strongly about racial busing, there is often a long history of busing and a long history of disregard for neighborhood school patterns.

The case of Charlotte-Mecklenburg provides a perfect example. As the Supreme Court noted in its 1971 ruling, the Charlotte school authorities did not purport to assign students on the basis of geographically drawn zones until 1965, and then allowed almost unlimited transfer privileges. Moreover, the system as a whole, without regard to desegration plans, intended to bus approximately 23,000 students in 1971, for an average daily round trip of 15 miles. More elementary school children than high school children were to be bused, and 4- and 5-year-olds were scheduled for the longest routes in the system. Charlotte-Mecklenburg is not, of course, unusual. All across the country the neighborhood school has become an educationally less viable institution for reasons generally having nothing to do with desegregation.

3) *The decision to bus has, until recently, not been guided by social beliefs or principles*: The history of pupil transportation offers the most conclusive refuta-

All across the country the neighborhood school has become an educationally less viable institution for reasons generally having nothing to do with desegregation.

tion of this notion. The growth of pupil transportation is inseparable from the belief that education is required for the social welfare of the country and offers a chance for individual social advancement. Ironically, it is the South which provides the most dramatic case of bus transportation's being used to support a set of social values. The dual school system of the South would not have been possible without an elaborate pupil transporation system. As G. W. Foster, a former consultant to the Office of Education and a professor of law, has noted, "In dual school systems it has been customary in many instances for separate buses to travel the same roads, one to pick up Negroes for the Negro school and the other to take whites to a different school." Again separate bus routes for Negro and white students have operated in some instances to place individual children of either or both races under the burden of going to a distant pick-up point when a pick-up point for the opopsite race was much more convenient." What busing to achieve desegregation has done is not to introduce social values to the concept of pupil transportation but introduce social values that stir opposition.

4) *Riding on the school bus is bad for children*: There are certainly occasions when long-distance riding places a hardship on students, and the courts have been especially sensitive to this problem in ordering busing. Except when busing involves desegregation, this problem is rarely raised, however. When one surveys the state literature on busing, it is apparent that the bus ride to and from school is seen as a pleasant part of the school day. The most frequent warnings in this area are against children being carried away by their play and becoming a hazard to the bus driver. Again, the attitude of the South towards busing is most revealing when one considers its reputed bad effects: As the U. S. Civil Rights Commission has noted, in the South "in many cases, busing was the exclusive privilege of white children—black children often were required to walk considerable distances. No complaints then were heard from whites of any harmful [busing] effects." Indeed, rather than being bad for children, busing per se has shown itself a safety factor as well as a health factor.

5) *Busing is invariably a financial burden on a com-*

munity: In a number of instances racial busing certainly has introduced expenses which a community was avoiding when it had segregated schools. But it cannot be assumed that increased busing—racial or otherwise is automatically a drain on a community. The busing which eliminated the one-room schoolhouse was a financial saving for the community, and busing for desegregation purposes is often the same. In the case of a dual school system, busing not only eliminates overlapping bus routes but the kinds of inefficiencies the Civil Rights Commission found in Alabama when it discovered, for example, that black students in Selma, seeking to attend trade school, were bused 50 miles to Montgomery to a nearly all-black trade school rather than allowed to attend an all-white trade school in Selma.

In the North, the savings made possible by busing for desegregation purposes are often harder to locate, but they are nonetheless present in a number of situations. For example, when the choice is between attempting to improve education through compensatory funding of schools or busing for integration, the latter is frequently the more economical choice. In testimony before the Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Dr. Wayne Carle, Superintendent of Schools in Dayton, Ohio, noted how in his city busing that made desegregation possible cost on a per pupil basis less than half of what compensatory funding did and was much more effective in improving education. A second example of the economy of busing is to be found in New York City, where Dan Dodson, professor of education at New York University, has proposed a plan that would involve busing 215,000 students in order to achieve desegregation. In his plan a large share of the cost that would be made up for by the use of under-utilized schools in areas outside Manhattan.

"It is quite obvious that busing per se has been widely accepted by the parents of the nation's children as an essential component of an education system," Donald Morrison, president of the National Education Association, has written. In the current debate over busing, this fact and its implications continue to be ignored.

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"How would you feel if they bused you clear across town to another bar?"

From The New Yorker, Jan. 29, 1972

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Forward or Reverse?

Busing in Perspective

by Walter F. Mondale

School desegregation is a fact of American educational life. The law of the land is clear, and it will not change. Officially imposed school segregation – whether the result of state law or covert policy – must be overcome. A unanimous Supreme Court resolved any lingering doubts last April with Chief Justice Burger's decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg*. A racial balance is not required. All-white or all-black schools may remain after all reasonable steps have been taken. But every reasonable effort must be made to overcome the results of officially approved school segregation: "School authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation . . . ." And reasonable transportation will be required where necessary to defeat the results of racially discriminatory student assignment policies." . . . We find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school."

There has been legitimate criticism of the process of school desegregation: court orders have at times been arbitrary; student transportation has in a few cases worked unnecessary hardships; some federal administrators have been overbearing and rigid. There are other equally legitimate criticisms which we have heard less often: thousands of qualified black teachers and administrators have been demoted or dismissed; black children have been subjected to abuse by fellow students, by teachers and by school administrators; the wealthy have fled to suburbs or placed their children in private schools, so that desegregation has affected only the poor.

But we will not answer these criticisms by refusing the federal support needed to make school desegregation educationally successful, or by withdrawing the federal government from enforcement of the 14th Amendment. The choice is not between blind acceptance of "massive busing for racial balance" or total rejection of support for any transportation to achieve

school desegregation. Busing is one means – and at times the only means – by which segregation in public education can be reduced. In itself, busing can be either helpful or harmful. It can be the safest, most reasonable way for children to reach integrated schools of high quality. Or it can be used to uproot stable communities and destroy the one chance that parents have to provide the best for their children.

Like the President, I do not support "unnecessary transportation to achieve an arbitrary racial balance," and none of the hundreds of educators with whom I have talked in the past two years supports this kind of effort. The Supreme Court has made it very clear that busing will be required only where it is reasonable and does not place undue burdens on school children: "Busing will not be allowed to significantly impinge on the educational process." Thus, educationally advantaged students should not be bused to schools where they will be overwhelmed by a majority of students from the poorest and most disadvantaged backgrounds. All the evidence we have collected indicates that this kind of "desegregation" helps no one at all.

But if we bar the use of reasonable transportation as one tool for achieving desegregation, we will set in concrete much school segregation which is the clear and direct product of intentional government policy – segregation which would not exist if racially neutral policies had been followed.

In South Holland, Illinois, for instance, a US district court found public agencies deeply involved in fostering school segregation. The schools were located in the center rather than at the boundaries of segregated residential areas in order to achieve school segregation. School assignment policies were adopted under which black children living nearer to white schools attended black schools, and white children living nearer to black schools attended white schools. School buses were used to transport students out of their "neighborhoods" in order to achieve segregation. Finally, teachers were assigned on a racial basis. If transportation to achieve desegregation is prohibited, public school segregation in South Holland will continue.

The courts have found virtually identical conditions in Norfolk, Virginia; Pasadena, California; Charlotte, North Carolina; Denver, Colorado and countless other communities.

Contrary to popular impression, courts have not generally ordered excessive busing or engaged in indiscriminate "racial balancing." The proportion of children riding buses to school in the Deep South is less than three percent above the national average, and barely seven percent above the average for the northern and western states. Recent HEW studies show that aggregate busing has not increased as a result of desegregation. In Louisiana and Florida, although the total number of students bused has increased, the average distance traveled has increased substantially. And in the South's 25 largest school districts this year, 33 percent of the total black enrollment attend virtually all-black schools. This hardly indicates overzealous "racial balancing."

For nearly two years, I have served as Chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in the Senate. It has been a painful two years, and I am left with a deep conviction that American education is failing children who are born black, brown or simply poor. In Hartford, Connecticut, the median IQ level of black elementary school students is perilously close to eligibility for special schools for the mentally retarded; in rural Appalachia, fewer than 50 of every 100 fifth graders graduate from high school; in New York City, the dropout rate of Puerto Rican children between grades 10 and 12 is 56.7 percent; 50 percent of American Indian students never complete high school.

What are we to do? Those who want us to abandon school integration. They say all our energies should be devoted to improving the quality of education in racially and economically isolated schools. They rightly point out that thousands of children attend schools that will not be integrated – racially or economically – in the next decade, and that ways must be found to provide better education in schools serving only the disadvantaged. But we have not found those ways! With few exceptions, an annual federal investment of $1.5 billion in "compensatory" education has little perceptible impact on mounting educational disadvantage. We must increase our efforts, but success is far from certain. At the same time, we cannot afford to abandon other hopeful approaches. *And it has been demonstrated that integrated education – sensitively conducted and with community support – can be better education for all children, white as well as black, rich as well as poor.* It has been tried and is working.

Nearly 1000 minority group students, selected on a random basis, are bused each day from the Hartford, Connecticut ghetto to suburban schools, as part of Project Concern. Extensive testing of these children since the inception of the project in 1966 shows that time spent in the suburban schools has a dramatic impact on achievement. Fifth graders who have been in the program two years are five months ahead of those who have been in the project only one year. Those who have spent three years in the project in turn scored another four months ahead of the two-year group or a full academic year ahead of the first group. The chances for a significant gain in basic reading and arithmetic skills have been increased threefold. In Berkeley, California, where a major effort has been made to record the educational impact of integration, average achievement of black students increased by 60 percent while the achievement rate for white

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students also rose. Similar results emerge from less comprehensive testing programs in Sacramento, California, and White Plains and Rochester, New York.

Hoke County is a small rural community of 18,000 in eastern North Carolina. Its schools serve 4850 children: 50 percent black, 35 percent white and 15 percent Lumbee Indian. The county had separate schools and classes for each group and a triple transportation system. Then in 1968 and 1969, Hoke County established a unitary system under which each school reflected the county-wide population distribution. They didn't just mix the children together and forget them once they entered the schoolhouse door. They tested every child to determine his level of achievement and took account of the low achieving students' special needs. They made sure that no teachers or principals were displaced or demoted – in fact, Indian and black personnel were promoted. They talked with fearful parents and counseled apprehensive students; they integrated all extracurricular activities so that every school-sponsored organization had representatives of all races in both its membership and its leadership.

Here's a school system which is 65 percent minority and it's making integration work. How? By being human about it and by focusing on what happens at the end of the bus ride. Before integration, white sixth graders were a year ahead of their Indian and black counterparts. By 12th grade the gap was two full years. At the end of the first year of integration, white students continued to progress as before. Black students gained a year and a half; their rate of achievement was more than 50 percent better than before. Could this have happened without integration? The superintendent thought not: "I don't think it would ever happen," he said, "if we kept the schools segregated and kept pouring in money for compensatory education in segregated schools. But I believe in an integrated system that we will eventually work it out."

The Hoke County children ride to school on buses 15 fewer minutes each day to integrated schools than they did under the segregated school system. The five-member local school board provided the kind of positive leadership necessary to make integration successful. It never reneged, publicly or privately, on its commitment to integration and it was reelected. The candidate who thought the system moved too fast toward integration finished last in a field of nine candidates.

Hoke County is not unique. Nor is Berkeley, California, the largest city in the nation to integrate its entire school system voluntarily. Berkeley is 45 percent white, 44 percent black and 11 percent Asian and Spanish-surnamed. Its schools were integrated more than three years ago, and they are building a quality, integrated system, because everyone is involved. Anglo youngsters' achievement rates are accelerating and those that are growing the fastest are those of students who have been in integrated classes longest. White third graders who have been in integrated classes for two years gained four months over those third graders who have been in integrated classes for one year. At the same time, black student achievement has increased from half to eight-tenths of a year's growth per year.

Berkeley is a university town with a high tax base, well above average in per pupil expenditure. Baldwin, Michigan on the other hand has a low tax base, a low per pupil expenditure, a school operating budget deficit of $100,000 a year and dismally low achievement levels. Its schools are the second worst academically in Michigan. Twelve percent of Baldwin's working force is unemployed; 40 percent of its families have incomes under $3000 per year; 53 percent of its people have less than nine years of formal education. Baldwin has its problems. But "busing" and "racial balance" are not among them. Every child is in an integrated class. More than 80 percent of its 1041 students are bused. Some students board their buses as early as 7 a.m. and travel 60 miles to arrive at school at 8:20. The shortest one-way bus ride in this 370 square mile school district is 20 miles. The superintendent told our select committee: "We are proud of the fact that we are an integrated school system. In fact this year during our football season we came up with a little pin that really exemplifies what we are talking about. I would like to leave this with you. It says, 'Baldwin has Soul.' "

I asked him whether there was any opposition to busing. He said: "Our neighbors in Cadillac, Ludington, Big Rapids, etc., are pretty shook up over there. They think we are going to bus some of our black children over to their schools. So busing is an issue in Baldwin only as far as our neighbors are concerned."

Let's be candid: busing is the way the overwhelming majority of school children outside our central cities get to school. Twenty million elementary and secondary school children are bused. They rode 256,000 yellow buses 2.2 billion miles last year, at a cost of $1.5 billion. Forty percent of our school children – 65 percent when those riding public transportation are included – ride to school every day for reasons that have nothing at all to do with school desegregation. So the issue is not, to bus or not to bus; it is whether we will build on successful examples to make school desegregation work; whether we will help the courts to avoid educational mistakes – or leave them to face the complexities of school desegregation alone.

And there are complexities. Court-ordered desegregation is costing Pontiac, Michigan $700,000 and Pontiac has had to cut educational programs to meet these costs. The superintendent and chairman of the school board in Dade County, Florida testified last June that, "The financial impact of desegregation is placing severe demands and burdens on the affected school systems." School desegregation in Dade County, which has a $250-million school budget, cost an

additional $1.5 million in just six months. Additional transportation is costing $670,000 a year. Pasadena, California is spending $300,000 in Federal Aid for Impacted Areas which would otherwise be used for instructional programs. Pasadena is implementing a federal desegregation court order. In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which is desegregating under state administrative procedures, additional transportation expenses are more than $500,000 a year. Harrisburg has had to cut additional programs to pay for busing. In Nashville, Tenn., because of an inadequate number of school buses, opening times for schools have been staggered so that some children start school as early as 7:00 a.m., and others arrive home after dark. The inconvenience this has caused threatens public support for education in Nashville.

And yet . . . the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has refused to allow expenditures of any of the $65 million in emergency desegregation funds appropriated by Congress this year to support transportation.

No one has suggested that every school can – or should – be integrated tomorrow. No one is requiring that. Segregated schools remain in Atlanta under federal court order; segregated schools will continue in the great urban centers of the North despite our best efforts. But if we abandon support for school integration where it can be accomplished, if we refuse to support the essential remedy, which busing so often is, and if we destroy the public goodwill necessary to make desegregation successful once it has taken place – we will work tragic harm. We're at a crossroads. School desegregation in the South is largely completed. But we from the North are now beginning to feel the pressure to abandon the course set by the 14th Amendment. If we do, in the name of anti-busing, we will deal a blow to public education in the North and in the South from which it may never recover.

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Busing: Who didn't want their children along for the ride?

Judith Bograd Ph.D. – With bibliographic assistance by Karen Thomas

"Busing: Who's being taken for a ride" is a very interesting and valuable paper because it redirects our attention to the history of busing apart from the issue of desegregation. And that history, as Nicolaus Mills points out, provides us with a chance for seeing the issue of school busing in perspective. But in whose perspective, we might ask? The word "perspective" in itself has a history that reminds us that the things we see are shaped by the instruments we use to look at them. As the Oxford English dictionary tells us, the term "perspective" derives from the "science of sight"; one early meaning was "an optical instrument for looking through or viewing objects with: a magnifying glass, for example." The word was found in such phrases as "to look through the wrong end of the perspective – to look upon something as smaller or of less consequence than it is." In this quaint sense of the word, we can suggest that the perspective gained from documents that States and "Educational authorities" produced to justify the consolidation of schools lead us to look upon the opposition to busing as something smaller or of less consequence than it was. Historical accounts, as historiographers point out, reflect the documents we have at our disposal that record the acts and thoughts of people who lived before. Therefore, in order for us to use the past to look at the present, it is necessary to use as many perspectives on issues such as busing that the sources left by our predecessors permit. As Nicolaus Mills points out, we need to ask basic questions about the history of school busing. And one of those questions, to which these remarks are addressed, is the question: Who did not want busing and why?

Such questions came to mind while reading the sentence quoted by Nicolaus Mills on p. 7 which states that "No complaints then were heard from whites of any harmful (busing) effects". Reading this sentence we can ask like a character in a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta might sing, what none? Was there not one white farmer somewhere in the South who did not curse with annoyance when he heard his child was going to be bused miles to school and come home after dark, too late to help with some of the chores? For, as an irate mother wrote to the Denver Post last summer, there are reasons that parents, regardless of color, oppose busing that have nothing whatever to do with racial prejudice, such as the problems that arise when a mother with a child who suddenly became sick at home has to walk down to a bus stop and pick up an older child after dark. Indeed, any child who was bused can recall, with both amusement and chagrin, the problems they encountered on "the day I missed the bus." But children and dirt farmers do not often testify before commissions, either state or national. Indeed, American historians on occasion bemoan the fact that the thoughts and feelings of ordinary American citizens are not usually recorded for posterity and therefore, the notions and reactions of people leading their everyday lives are not easily accessible to their successors. While it is clear, as Mills points out, that rural and suburban parents have come to accept busing, it may be possible that the complaints they raised were not only not heard, but not heeded. This possibility becomes more probable when we look at documents distributed by state departments of public instruction in which the issues raised by the transportation of pupils are discussed. For example, in Arkansas in 1930, a bulletin was prepared for ". . . use of superintendents, principals, and school board members in the provision of economical and efficient transportation of pupils to schools". Other such documents, at our disposal, suggest that in the 1930's, states such as Arkansas, were engaging in

efforts to codify procedures that had developed after the consolidation of schools began. Much of this pamphlet is addressed to matters such as mapping routes, deciding what make of bus should be purchased, hiring drivers, insurance, legal liability, etc. But even in 1930, 19 years after Arkansas had passed the necessary legislation dealing with consolidation and transportation, it still was necessary for the author of this bulletin, Harry D. Little, to make a "general statement about transportation" in which he tried to neutralize the opposition to the transportation of pupils. Little notes that "constituted educational authorities" generally accept the transportation of students. For, as Nicolaus Mills reports, educators in rural states argued that only by consolidating schools could states afford to give children the best kind of education America could make available to them. In the words of the Bulletin, "The fact that . . . children are not near a school should not impair their chances of getting the training they need for life." Little further goes on to argue that the success of consolidation depends upon the success of the transportation of pupils. But, he could not simply state the case. Even in 1930, Little still found it necessary to devote a section in this pamphlet to summing up the objections to transportation and suggesting answers to them. Given contemporary debates, both the objections and the answers are interesting enough to quote in entirety here.

OBJECTIONS TO TRANSPORTATION

Some of the objections that are usually raised against transportation of pupils to school are:

1. The time spent on the road going to and coming from school.
2. The danger of physical injury to the pupils.
3. Social relationship of pupils on buses.
4. Cost of transportation.
5. Pupils will be late getting to road and miss the bus.
6. Children have no place to wait for bus after they get to the road, if the weather is bad.
7. Pupils may get sick away from home.
8. Buses unable to get over the roads in bad weather.
9. Attendance will be poor at school on account of transportation.

Although most of the objections are imaginary rather than real, some of them are vital. They may be answered in many ways; some of the most important answers are:

1. Of course some people must live on the end of the route and their children will be later than the others in getting home. Sometimes this is an hour or more after school closes. There is no alternative if the children are to be given standard school advantages. In most instances the children will reach home sooner from the consolidated school than they would by walking home from the local small school.
2. With the increased number and the increased speed of cars and trucks on our highways today it is much more dangerous for children to walk down the highway than to ride in a bus. If proper care is taken in the selection of a bus that is built with the safety of the pupils in mind, there is practically no danger to pupils riding in it.
3. Where a great number of children or adults are put in the close relationship that they are in a bus there is likely to be some friction. This is true of the school room, home, or playground. With a good driver these things are held to a minimum. Even if boys fight all the way home on the bus they have less than half as much time to fight as they would have walking home from school where they sometimes fight from the close of school until dark.
4. Transportation is expensive; so is anything else that is worthwhile. Oftentimes enough can be saved on teachers' salaries in consolidated schools (fewer are requried than under the small school system) to pay or nearly pay for the transportation.
5. With a definite schedule for the bus there is no more reason for children missing the bus than for them being late to school.
6. Children should wait at some home on the road or else a "waiting station" should be built for them.
7. Pupils can be better cared for at a consolidated school, where there is a bus to take them home, than at a school where they walk and there is nothing to take them home, if they become sick.
8. There are some roads that buses can't get over every day in the year. But good roads usually follow consolidations. We never get roads until we need them. Even if the buses do miss a few days the children will usually get more from the good school than they would by attending every day in the poorer school.

9. Transportation often tends to increase attendance at school. A report from a principal of a consolidated school during one of the coldest months last winter (Center Point Consolidated School) is typical of the results:

	Percent of Attendance		
	Primary	Intermediate	High School
Transported pupils	77%	83%	84%
Town pupils	57%	73%	78%

The objections reported by Little are not unique to the residents of the state of Arkansas. For example, the danger of physical injury to pupils, as well as the cost of providing safe transportation for them, was of concern to other states such as Massachusetts. The Massachusetts State Senate formed a special State Commission in 1931 to investigate the regulation of school busing. The report of the Commission points out that although Massachusetts began transporting students in 1869, by 1931 the Commonwealth still had no statutes, rules, or regulations governing operation of motor vehicles used exclusively for the transportation of school children. The Commission itself was created in response to complaints, such as "one of the most serious" submitted by a mother "protesting that a school bus in her town covered a distance of 9 miles in 17 minutes, the bus traveling at a rate of 58 miles an hour; investigators found another bus with an open flameheater in it; and another with a seating capacity of 25 had 44 children crowded in it." (p.12) The statement of the problem posed the dilemma facing the Commission. "It was forceably brought to the attention of the Commission during the study that any regulations it found necessary to impose must be tempered with a complete understanding of financial burdens now borne by cities and towns (p.13)." Little, too, lets us know this concern was shared by other states. "Some states have found that they have been unable to pay for the kind of transportation some of the school leaders wanted. We must remember that after the children are transported to school they still must be taught and if all the revenue is spent for transportation the children will still not have the advantage of good schools." (p.8) The Massachusetts Commission noted, in this context, that while it was interested in safeguarding the lives of children, anything imposing heavy financial cost would be "unwise." With that paramount consideration, it inquired into the problem. In so doing, the Commission compiled a list of accidents that occurred when children were being bused. They found that the most frequent cause of injury appears when children leave the bus and cross the street. Other injuries, however, happened when children's hands were caught in the bus door, or when other children shoved them into the side of the bus, the latter incident implying that there were injuries, not recorded, that occurred when children were fighting on the bus. The Commission decided that the overcrowding of buses was a "difficult condition to remedy" and noted that such conditions only exist for 10 minutes or so at the start of a route. (p.24) Moreover, the Commission decided, as did other states looking into the problem, that it is important that the bus driver be of good "moral character" and have the ability to "control children." "If he is needlessly careless in attire, is profane or uses tobacco while on duty, he is as undesirable in the school bus as he would be in the school room." (p.23) After suggesting the changes it found necessary, the Commission ends its report by appending the legislation which regulated school busing and increasing the amount of liability insurance owners were required to carry. Whether this action satisfied protesting mothers we do not know.

Such commissions however do let us know that even by the 30's the transportation of pupils was not accepted by all parents without complaint. Indeed, a study of transportation of pupils issued by the State Superintendent in Wisconsin in 1938 explicitly notes that some states passed legislation authorizing Board and Lodging, in lieu of transportation. We find that states willing to board pupils rather than transport them included among others Colorado, Wyoming, Wisconsin, California, Maine, Massachusetts, North and South Dakota. (1938, p.33) The names of the above states remind us that mountains and blizzards lead parents in some states to object to busing because of geographical terrain and climate regardless of the educational opportunities offered.

Apart from concern over "natural barriers", there were other issues that were raised by opponents to school consolidation that have some bearing upon present debates. Bulletins discussing consolidation in Nebraska and Wisconsin published in 1902 and 1903 give us some indication of the concerns of the residents of those states. In Nebraska, for example, along with other objections, some parents did not want their children transported to a town where the saloon was in the center, as the following list relates:

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONSOLIDATION

1. Depreciation of property; decreased valuation of farms in districts where schools are closed.
2. Dislike to sending young children to school far from home, away from the oversight of parents; and to providing a cold lunch for them rather than a warm dinner.
3. Danger to health and morals; children obliged to travel too far in cold and stormy weather; obliged to walk a portion of the way to meet the team, and then to ride in damp clothing and with wet feet; unsuitable conveyance and uncertain driver; association with so many children of all classes and conditions; lack of proper oversight during the noon hour.
4. Insufficient and unsuitable clothing; expense to parents of properly clothing their children.
5. Difficulty of securing a proper conveyance on reasonable terms or, if the parent is allowed compensation, of agreeing upon terms satisfactory to both parents and school officials.
6. Local jealousy; an acknowledgment that some other section of the township has greater advantages and is outstripping any other locality.
7. Natural proneness of some people to the removal of any ancient landmark or to any innovation, however worthy the measure, or however well received elsewhere.
8. Less freedom of the individual pupil to advance at a rate best suited to him.
9. Saloon at the center.
10. Too long distances; bad roads, blocked in winter for weeks.
11. Invasion of individual rights.
12. If fatal diseases are carried to or start in these schools, then most all of the children of the township are exposed to them. (p.4)

In Wisconsin, we note that one reason for opposing both consolidation and transportation was that some parents did not think a graded school with specialized teachers was better than an ungraded one-room school house.

OBJECTIONS URGED AGAINST THE PLAN

The following are the leading objections raised by the people of Wisconsin, as shown by the reports of county superintendents and institute conductors . . .

1. Bad roads and irregular distribution of public highways.
2. Uncertainty about expense.
3. Loss of the *home* school.
4. Fear that land on the border of enlarged district will depreciate in value.
5. Central school might build a new, large building and the discontinued schools might wish to return to the old regime.
6. Many teachers would be thrown out of employment.
7. Would build up a central school in a rival district. (Jealousy.)
8. Disbelief that pupils can be transported comfortably and safely.
9. Doubt whether a graded school is better than an ungraded school.
10. Children would have to leave home too early and would not get back in time to "do chores."
11. The evil influences would be much greater, particularly if children are transported to village or town schools.

It is interesting to note that in both these bulletins answers were given which both justified the educational advantages of a large consolidated school and noted that after spending the school day in an urban area, children would appreciate the beauty of nature and the life on the farm far more. At first glance it is amusing to read reassurances that transportation of children will permit the farmer's offspring to experience an "ethical culture . . . free from the dissipations of social life as manifested in cities" (Nebraska, 1903, p.3) But, given the changes in rural life that have taken place since 1903, can we so easily laugh at the farmer's fears that children transported away from home won't come back? Mistrust of the central city, fear of loss of power and local control of schools, fear that children bused far away from home will make friends their parents do not know or approve of, and then will date and marry people from families their parents do not like, fear that children will reject their parents' values and life styles, all these fears are found at the base of some of the objections to busing today. As Eulek mentioned in a dissertatiop finished at Teachers College in 1935, we cannot understand the emotional meanings of the issues raised in discussions of "county unification," consolidation and transportation of students unless we take into account the "social-psychological factors" that lead people living in one locality to stereotype people living in others. The stereotype of the city and its people clearly influenced feelings about busing long before inner cities were made up of black populations. Indeed, an interesting study can be done tracing the stereotypes used and developed in the name of opposition to busing, both before and after the issue was tied to desegregation.

Hawley and Zimmer, in 1966 published a work which offers us another approach to understanding resistance to reorganization of school districts. Looking at several metropolitan areas, they investigated socio-economic and demographic characteristics of residents of suburbs which may be related to their opinions about the advisability of reorganizing school districts. Their work reminds us that factors such as size of city, distance from the central city to the suburb, size of family, may also help us explain who objects to busing and why. Furthermore, their work reveals that issues concerning changing schools are often related to issues of local politics and questions concerning the operation of schools, taxation, etc. may be raised by suburbanites who, although they believe their own schools are better, have, in fact, little knowledge of what goes on in the political governing of their schools or in the schools themselves. Clearly ecological variables and the distribution of knowledge about schools and education are important in themselves. And the factors that lead people to want to educate their children in suburban schools are complicated by ethnic and racial composition of the populations affected by busing. Therefore, Hawley and Zimmer's work supports the view that the history of busing must not only be set in the historical context of the school consolidation movement, and desegregation, but must also take into account parents' responses to the growth, development, and some argue, decline of American cities as well as the cities' relationships to outlying areas, both rural and suburban.

In conclusion, through these documents, we can see that some of the issues raised in the past are being repeated in different guise today. For example, some comments about the virtue of the one room school house bring to mind arguments for open classrooms and the elimination of grouping by age. The objection that money spent on transportation could be spent more directly on education is still a point to consider, even if we, as many of our predecessors, ultimately conclude that the gains from the transportation of students outweigh the deficits. Furthermore, it is important to note that the sources we have used also have been distributed by people who supported consolidation and the reorganization of school districts. As the following anecdote indicates, the accounts of busing at our disposal did not necessarily sum up the issue of busing from the perspective of a dispassionate observer:

"Not long ago I was in a district urging the people to consolidate their schools. One farmer was very much opposed to it and said that children could not possibly be taken back and forth to school over the kind of roads (in Pennsylvania) they had. That afternoon he took me into town in his automobile. On the way we passed a truck loaded with milk going into the station. A young man was driving it and the truck was getting along without any trouble.

"The old gentleman turned to me with a good deal of pride and said 'See that fellow? That's my son. He is a fine boy too. He drives that truck every day year in and year out and delivers the milk and never misses a trip and is never behind time.' And I said, 'I see how to do it now.' And the old man asked, 'How to do what?' and I answered 'How to get those children transported to school. I will give each one of them a bottle of milk and have a boy haul the bottles, then the children will get there and never miss a trip and always be on time!" (Driver, 1923, p.16-17)

But children are not bottles of milk. And the objections some parents raised to the transportation of their children to schools probably quite eloquently took account of that fact, even if these documents do not record their objections in their own words. Debates in state assemblies, newspapers, and material located in state historical collections may provide us with more of the source material necessary to enrich our understanding of the complex history of busing. But even those formulations, in which objections are stated in order to be refuted, we can see that the focus upon such factors as cost, the saftey of children, sentiments attached to local schools and reluctance to relinquish control of both educational policy and children indicates that the issues related to the transportation of students are not simple ones. The debates in the past, as those in the present, index parents' fears for their children and themselves as well as the hopes for the future that education represents. At this point in time, perhaps one of the most meaningful perspectives we can gain from history is found in the words of Harry Little who wrote that "although some of the objections are imaginary rather than real, some of them are vital. They may be answered in many ways." (1930, p.11) The contents of the documents used by both Nicolaus Mills and ourselves let us know that as Nicolaus Mills states, we must continue to search for the answers to the questions about the busing of children that we have previously neglected to ask.

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New York State Board of Regents: Statement and Dissent

ALBANY, March 24—Following are excerpts of a policy statement on school integration adopted today by the New York State Board of Regents, and of the three dissenting opinions, by Theodore M. Black, Joseph T. King and Helen B. Power:

BOARD STATEMENT

Recent events and mounting passions on the subject of legitimate means to achieve school desegregation have caused the Regents to review and reaffirm their long-held position on school integration.

That long-held position has been rooted in both constitutional doctrine and educational philosophy.

In regard to the former, this board is not immune to the jurisdiction of the supreme law of this land as determined by our highest court. Eighteen years ago, in the case of Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, the United States Supreme Court ruled that separate (in the sense of racially segregated) schools were "inherently unequal."

Obedience to the Law

Until this ruling is modified or reversed, we believe that all public officials and all citizens are constrained to accept, and to implement as conscientiously as they may be whatever legitimate means are available, the spirit and the letter of the Constitution so interpreted.

But even if the issue of school segregation had not received judicial attention, the Regents would take the position that in a multiracial society, a person cannot be considered educated if he remains unexposed on a personal basis to the cultural richness and the individual diversity of his neighbors. It is just as serious to deny a white child the opportunity to know children of other colors as it is for minority children to be denied contact with whites.

This board cannot foresee any but the most sullen and corrosive scenarios of the future if the multicolored and multicultured children of this state and nation are not permitted to get to know one another as individuals.

The issues then come down to matters of competing priorities and alternative means.

On the question of priorities, where there is substantial evidence that the means to achieve racial and social integration in schools would involve a serious threat to the health and safety of children, integration plans must, of course, take these important realities into consideration.

Furthermore, where there are convincing reasons to believe that the educational achievements of any group of students would be jeopardized by integration plans, such plans must take these facts into account. Surely a rule of reason must apply (as it has applied in this state) in sorting out the worth of competing values in achieving a desirable social end.

But this is not to defend a contrary "rule by unreason." Nor are factors of modest inconvenience, by themselves, adequate justifications for thwarting constitutional and legal doctrine.

In this context, the Regents deplore the emotional misapprehensions that have emerged around the issue of so-called "compulsory busing." There are compulsory attendance laws. There are compulsory attendance zones. Busing is frequently a convenience. Patently, in many areas, in a de facto sense, busing is a necessity. And in most areas, it has become a great facilitator of educational options and excellence.

This is true in spite of the fact that during the past few decades, hundreds of thousands of parents have been temporarily outraged by school-district consolidations involving their children being "forced-bused" away from local neighborhoods. Such "forced busing" has been sanctioned by the Legislature and by this board for decades in order to achieve a higher quality education than was possible in one room "little red school houses."

Until residential and occupational integration becomes a reality in this nation—the ultimate sign that skin color has lost its evil fetish—the judicious and reasonable use of motor vehicles may be in many instances the only instrument available to enable local communities to meet constitutional requirements and educational goals.

Within this context of competing and, at times, overriding considerations of health, safety and academic quality, neither states nor localities should be prohibited from using buses to achieve desirable social and educational objectives.

Racial, religious and cultural prejudice has been deeply rooted in our society. Our nobility as a people, however, has been reflected in our conscious effort to overcome these psychic serpents. And, as Shakespeare noted in another metaphor and context, "so dark a cloud will not pass without a storm."

But we must not falter now. Using the rule of reason and compassion in the application of supreme law and civic morality, we must press forward with all deliberate speed to achieve the constitutional mandate to be just, religious mandate to reverence one another, and the educational mandate to understand the conditions of freedom for all.

BLACK DISSENT

It is with considerable regret that I must decline to associate myself with the statement issued today by the majority of the board on the subject of racial integration in the schools and "busing" to achieve that end.

There is much of positive value in the majority statement. It is, generally speaking, a lucid and eloquent exposition of the justice and desirability of integrating our schools, and the moral, educational and constitutional basis for such integration.

Moreover, this majority statement reflects, in my opinion, a highly important and significant departure from previous Regents' majority position papers of recent years, in that (for the first time, to my knowledge) specific notice and consideration is given to some of those major concerns about "busing" which worry so many parents today – particularly parents of young children: Their health, their safety and, very much as important to the whole picture, the quality of their educational experiences at the end of their bus ride.

Unfortunately, the majority statement halts at that point, taking note of these concerns and indicating that they should be taken into account but stopping far short of providing definite guarantees to parents that vital factors such as the health, safety and assurance of quality education for their children will always be paramount, taking precedence over transportation for integration whenever these elements cannot be reconciled.

KING DISSENT

It follows that the majority here does not reject the involuntary transportation of children of all school ages to schools distant from their home areas for the purpose of racial integration. Even if and when legitimate parental concerns are not satisfied, the majority would continue to permit such transportation by edict of educational authority—by definition, involuntary or "forced busing."

I can draw no other conclusions from the phraseology and the omissions of the majority statement. Therefore I cannot concur in it, as I continue to be firmly opposed to such involuntary transportation.

While the statement does take into account the various sociological, legal and political factors contributing to this problem, the fact is that this statement is a first-time and, I think, ill-timed declaration by the Board of Regents that busing such schoolchildren from one school district to another is either the way or the better way to insure to these children the quality education and equality of educational opportunity to which they are entitled.

I cannot bring myself to become convinced that busing is the answer or the better answer. Indeed, minority group communities are themselves divided on this question. We have had comparatively little experience with such busing.

It is my position, as it was when I voted against decentralization of the New York City school system, that schoolchildren so affected may best be helped educationally by devoting to them additional extra time and effort and funds to improve the quality of their education and educational opportunity.

DISSENT BY MRS. POWER

I believe the statement does condone compulsory busing. I am definitely opposed to compulsory busing to achieve a specific ratio.

I agree with President Nixon and Governor Rockefeller that it is time we stop and examine where we have gone with respect to compulsory busing. We should examine and study our procedures, the effects, the results and the effectiveness of obtaining our goals by compulsory busing. We should study again the pros and cons of the neighborhood school.

After due examination, we should proceed to bring children of all races into racially integrated schools.

"Actually, serving as class president isn't my only involvement in politics — I ride the school bus, too."

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Busing: From Many Angles*

A Selected Bibliography

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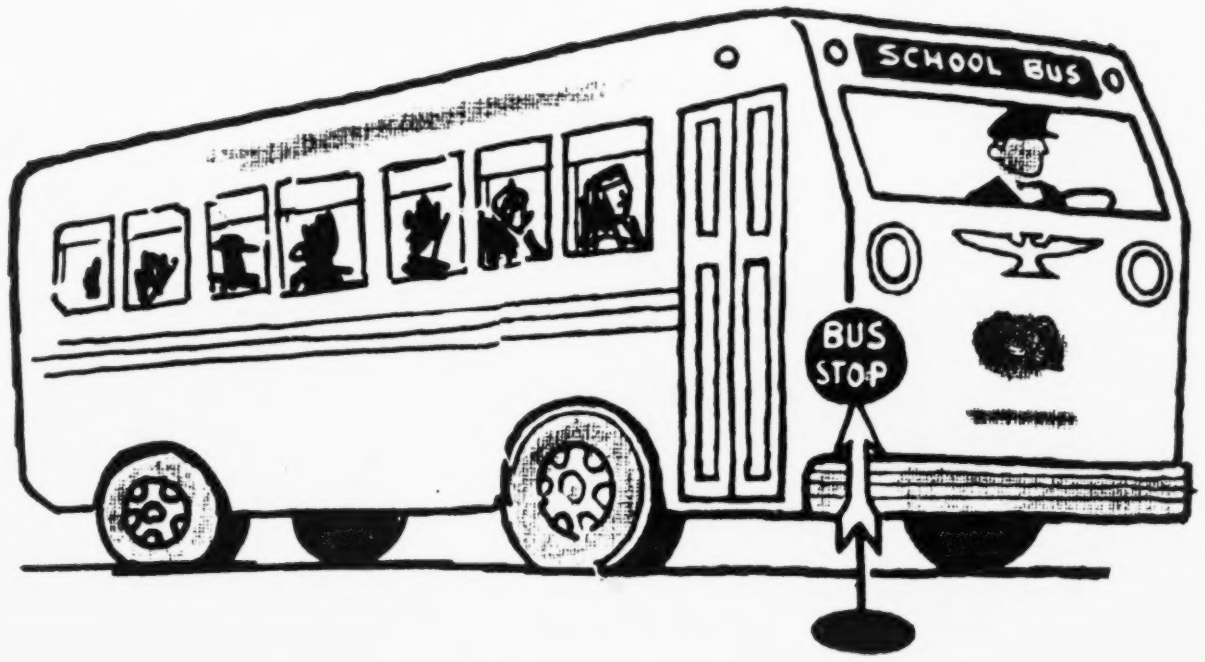

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